000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs, and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono), made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots (imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is always in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato, akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
[531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

252 In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
243 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
[412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words "thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmically in turn.

252 The winnowing of the grain and disposal of the spelt [sic] is
243 usually done by men by means of large, very flat baskets or
[415] "riddles." Finally, the flour is spread out on these same flat baskets after the woman has made it by grinding the grain on a millstone (uruschjo), one of which also lies in front of each hut. All this is done very much in the same manner as in Ruanda and among the other peoples of the interlacustrine region (No. 19, pp. 371-372, 451-452).

264 Most Batussi have only one hot meal a day, and they eat it in the evening. The Bahutu, however, have two: the first meal around noon, the second in the evening between seven and eight o'clock. The Batwa do not seem to be bound to any particular mealtime. When the Batussi and Bahutu feel hungry in the meantime, especially in the morning, they eat cold food, like cooked sweet potatoes, manioc, roasted corn, peanuts, etc. Milk is drunk either fresh or sour; the Batussi are par-
272 ticularly fond of whisked sour milk. In order always to have
484 fresh milk when traveling, prosperous Batussi take several milch cows and the necessary personnel along on their trip. Meat is
[252] mostly roasted on the spit or dried by smoking or in the sun.
262 Yet meat is seldom enjoyed, for the Batussi of Urundi, like those of all the other Bahima states, eat only beef, and they do this only when the animals are sterile or too old to breed, or when an animal is killed to be sacrificed (cf. pp. 103, 136). The Bahutu get beef [26] only when the Batussi who own the cattle give them some. As for meat from the goats or sheep they have allotted to them, this they eat only when an animal is slaughered for its hide which is used for making clothes. More meat is allotted to the Batwa who serve as guards, policemen, musicians, etc., at the "courts" of their Batussi rulers.
231 One will find relatively few goats and sheep in Urundi, although enormous herds existed in former times. They have disappeared to a large extent as a result of the exploitative economy practiced by the traveling merchants since 1906. Chickens and eggs
262 are not eaten either and are used only for sacrificial purposes or for prophecy (see p. 47). Since hunting also seldom provides

Since hunting also seldom provides
262 anything for the kitchen - the Barundi are poor hunters and,
[224] except for the Batwa, do not eat venison or if they do, only on exceptional occasions -- and since wild plants are seldom used for food, the menu is rather limited. The main food items for the whole of Urundi are bananas, beans, peas, sweet potatoes, and sorghum; all these are dried, ground, and prepared as mush. All the other things produced by the fields at different altitudes and in areas of different climate (see the chapter on agriculture, p. 48) play only a subordinate role.

It is true that when speaking to a European or a Muhutu the Batussi claim that they live only on milk, meat, and beer, but in reality they eat legumes, bananas, millet mush, and other foods exactly like the Bahutu. After all, not enough cattle are killed in the area to satisfy all the Batussi every day.
252 Except for meat, which, as has been mentioned, is almost always roasted on the spit, most dishes by far are cooked or stewed; only very few are fried in grease or oil as, for example, in the Tanganyika region where palm oil is plentiful.

262 As far as special rules concerning food are concerned,
264 I have discovered a number of food taboos connected with totemism and religious ideas (see p. 103). It is surprising that one never sees adults eating. They always take their meals inside the huts, the man together with his wife but apart from the children, and if they are ever caught at their meals, they stop and go away since the food would "not agree" with them if eaten in the presence of strangers. Of course, this is
262 not the case when they are traveling. In that case the force
261 of external circumstances often frees them from such considerations; yet conscientious or rigidly trained people, as most of the Batussi are, observe the custom so strictly even while traveling that they will go hungry rather than depart from it. When climbing the Karisimbi, for example, I had two young Batussi guides who, in spite of the extreme physical exertion involved, refused all the food I offered them and did not eat anything for two days because they did not have their customary mush and milk, nor did they accept anything from the people in my caravan.

273 easily digested. Barundi men scorn it because of its harmlessness, and it is left for the sick, the women, and the children, among whom it is very popular (No. 19, p. 74).

The fourth type of beer is honey beer (umutobe w'insuki). It resembles lemonade but is nevertheless somewhat alcoholic, so even men like to drink it. It consists of one fifth honey and four fifths water. This is boiled for a short time, and then it is poured into a different vessel and left standing near the fire for a few days without being allowed to boil. Finally it is placed under the open sun for an entire day so as to cause slight fermentation. This is also a tasty and wholesome beverage.

Honey beer and banana cider cannot be preserved for a long time; the latter will keep only for four to five days. For this reason both must be consumed quickly. The first two types mentioned, banana and sorghum beer, do not improve by aging either. They turn sour, the sooner the warmer the place is where they are kept. In mountain areas with a cold climate they will keep for five to six weeks, but in the much more extensive plateau lands they turn sour much sooner. For this reason alone the high time of general drinking is squeezed into the period of a few weeks which are enjoyed all the more strenuously. [Fig. 14 appears here in the original text.]

[62] The Barundi seldom drink beer directly from the pots or from open pumpkin bowls, as is the case among most other East African Negroes. Usually the beer is poured from the [264] pots into calabashes and then sucked out of these by means of straws or reeds (umukenke) in the same manner as we drink iced coffee. The Banjaruanda and Basiba use the same method. Also [484] on trips and marches they carry calabashes of beer with them, [415] together with the necessary tubes which are kept in plaited or carved cases (Fig. 14).

The real beer brewers in Urundi are the Bahutu women, as has already been mentioned, but as far as drinking is concerned, the Bahutu and the Batussi are of equal rank. Most of them are tremendous tipplers who consume 12 to 15 liters of beer a day. The Batwa, too, are hard drinkers if they have beer.

[Text continues on page 93]

768 736 children with her. The grown children stay with the husband's family and provide for their widowed mother. However, childless widows earn their subsistence by working for neighbors or by begging.

562 593 The position of women is higher and the esteem in which they are held is greater than among most other East African Negroes. As far as domestic and family matters are concerned, the wife's position is approximately equal to that of the husband. [462] Both of them share the daily chores, except tending the cattle which is solely the husband's affair, and work in the fields and in the garden where most of the work is allotted to the wife, although the husband will lend his assistance with all these tasks. The preparation of meals is also solely the wife's job. In addition to this, the wife takes care of the children and the hut. The social equality of the two sexes is also demonstrated by the custom -- which cannot be found among any other East African people -- that husband and wife [264] eat together (see p. 26). Emin Pascha expressly reports of the northern Bahima that the wives eat together with thier husbands, a practice which is not followed by the Bantu who live there (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 222). The advice of the wife and particularly the mother is sought in all important affairs in Urundi. Their opinion is often decisive. Female chiefs are more of an exception here than among the eastern tribes, the Wassumbwa and the Wanjamwesi, but they do occur as a result of succession by inheritance, and they are not so conspicuous publicly as among the Wanjamwesi. The greatest amount of influence is wielded by the king's mother. She has the role of co-ruler during her entire lifetime (see p. 185 [not translated]), a position of respect which has also been preserved in the other Bahima states as far as Ufipa, the southernmost of them (No. 47, p. 90).

562 [644]

Of all the Barundi wives, those of the Batussi are the proudest. In contrast, the Batwa wives are over-burdened with work, are held in low esteem, and have no voice in the family council.

595 The large majority of the Barundi is monogamous. They are not prosperous enough to be able to purchase more than one wife or to support more than one household. Anyone who can

796 throw cow bones into their face. This is no longer the case, and
661 times have changed for the better. An evolution of ideas has taken place under European influence. Since these men are no longer inviolate, their behavior has necessarily become less brutal.

They were immediately received by the king, who asked them
796 into his hut to the exclusion of his usual entourage. The great chief of the Bumbogo (umutware w' intebe), of the Batsobe clan, alone came in with the king. It was he who officially presented the first fruits to the sovereign. Precautions were taken so that no one might come near the grain destined for the king. Carefully selected slaves or servant girls threshed the stalks at night far from all unhallowed glances. Then they had the task of crushing the grain before the eyes of the monarch. They worked with the most meticulous cleanliness, that is to say, without spitting into their hands or touching the flour with their unhallowed fingers.

Princes and dignitaries live in perpetual fear of poisoning and spells, hence the numerous measures /502/ and strict watchfulness observed in these circumstances. When enough flour had been obtained to make bread (umutsima), another slave girl took it and immediately prepared it.

The dough was ceremoniously taken to the king, who removed a piece from it with his fingers. He brought it first to his forehead, then to his chest, and then took it to his mouth. The chief who was present did the same. This ceremony was carried out in silence. The men who had brought the first fruits also offered the monarch some stalks of issogi, which is, as we have seen, one of the most important plants (imbuto nkuru).

[262] It must be remembered that the Banyarwanda cannot eat sorghum bread or eleusine bread alone because it is too dry.

They usually eat it, therefore, with a mouthful of beans cooked along with this sort of spinach. The latter lends the beans a flavor which is highly esteemed by the natives. This is what gave the plant a choice place among other foods.

796 It was customary for the men who had taken part in the pro-
264 cession to be rewarded. A bucket (umuvule) was filled with milk, and another with beans that were only half cooked.

796 These were topped with rancid butter as though it were a special
264 treat.

The intended goal was to stuff the bearers of the first fruits.

The poorly cooked food was digested slowly, and meanwhile the eaters proved to the spectators, with their rounded stomachs, that they had been treated royally (ngo n'. ishimo).

It is said that in the old days the guests were not allowed to leave the royal enclosure without having finished their Pantagruelic repast. They ate before the amused eyes of a delirious crowd which plied them with jeers and gibes. Nor were they allowed /503/ to leave the premises in order to relieve nature. "As a result, " add the narrators, "the court looked more like a stable."

Yet the guests could consider themselves fortunate if their appetite was not stimulated with blows. It seems that at the present time these customs have lost some of their grotesque and brutal character.

Not only did the court familiars and neighboring inhabitants take part in those festivities, but so did the great chiefs and their retinues. Sacrifices followed upon dances and shows given by clowns and snake charmers.

There was also the presentation of the sacred cows (inyambo), which was to many people the most important part of the festivities. To those who know the Batutsi as professional herders, there is nothing surprising about this part of the program.

II. The Existence and Presentation of Sacred Herds

233 In speaking of sacred cows, our study would remain incomplete if we were not to say a few words about the attachment which the Banyarwanda, Bahutu, and Hamites demonstrate for their cattle.

Cows are cherished by everyone, without exception. Meticulous and often ridiculous care is lavished upon them. The Blacks of Ruanda stop at nothing to obtain cattle. A Muhutu /Bahutu/ will fawn upon his chief for many years, if necessary, in order to obtain one. He will bear the inclemencies of the seasons, undertake long journeys, perform endless drudgery, and sacrifice his crops to

351 elephant grass. In the compounds of wealthy persons, consisting of at least three huts, this entrance leads into the front courtyard.

[201] In this courtyard, opposite the entrance, is the kambele, the house occupied by the head of the family. On the side, usually to the left of this house, is the entrance to the inner courts. The front court as well as the inner courts are kept clean and free of grass. Here the clients and subordinates of the head of the establishment assemble to learn his wishes, commands, and de-
[514] cisions. Here he receives his guests who are conducted no farther than into the kambele. Sacrifices also take place here. In Musinga's compound I saw two carefully tended sacrificial trees between the entrance gate and his house on both sides of and at a

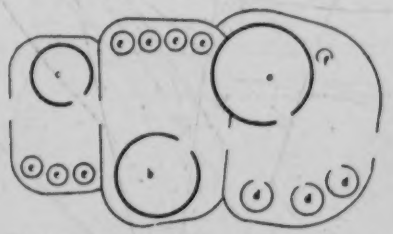

Fig. 127. Compound, Nyanza on Lake Mohasi: (a) kambele, (b) kagondo, (c) mubahutu, (d) stalls for calves, (e) storehouses, (f) spirit hut.

certain distance from the line connecting the two. In the front court near the house one also sees small spirit huts.

In many compounds the front court also contains huts for small calves, and animals are kept here at night. In one single instance I saw a hut for larger calves outside the enclosure. It was explained to me that the whole herd was kept near this hut overnight.

592 In the inner court is the house for the women, known as kagondo. Here the master's wife spends the day with her women servants. It is only in the evening that she is brought to the
● [264] kambele in a litter. The husband eats with his wife in the kagondo.

000 the knives used by Babira women.

251 Boiled food forms the basis of the diet; however, corn, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are also baked.

262 The Batutsi's favorite dish is beaten sour milk, kivuguto. The Batutsi maintain that they live exclusively on beer, milk, and meat, but sureptitiously they also eat peas (maharagi), beans, millet mush (umutsima), eleusine (buro), gourds, and bananas. On the other hand, they seem to scorn sweet potatoes. This may not be altogether true, however. The Batutsi repeatedly tried to convince me that their diet was entirely different from that of the Bahutu, but this does not seem to be the case.

The diet of the Bahutu, as one would expect among the poorer people, is more monotonous, with less milk and meat and more umutsima, peas, and sweet potatoes. Fish is a very important part of the diet of north Ruanda.

264 [215] The Batutsi eat solid food only once a day, in the evening. They eat with their women, whereas they drink only with men of their own social position.

The Bahutu eat twice a day, between one and two in the afternoon and between eight and nine in the evening. In Mulera people also eat in the morning. This applies only to the men, since women and children eat all day long. The Batwa, too, are constantly eating, whenever they have a chance. It is said of them: balandwa uk imga, "they hunt like dogs."

Chapter 10

Family Affairs

595 The Family. The number of persons in a family, in the narrower sense of the term, varies a great deal in Ruanda. It includes the father, his wives, and children.

Since the woman represents a worker primarily, the number of women in a man's household may be regarded as the measure of his wealth. The poor cannot keep a wife, those of limited means only one, and the wealthy minority two or even several wives. This is why the Batutsi have more wives than the Bahutu.

595 Although a wife feeds herself and the market price for a woman is trifling the Bahutu, nevertheless the man must build and maintain a house for each woman. The amount of work this entails, considering the perishability of the straw buildings, seems to be an important factor in curtailing polygamy. In some cases, it is true, several wives get along with each other in one house, but the lack of a separate hut is considered a great disadvantage and usually results in a woman's departure.

612 The family in the wider sense of the term includes the more distant relatives.

If the child is regarded as the center of the family, only the ancestors in the male line of the father as well as of the mother are considered. The ancestors in the female line are disregarded. Of the various branches of the family only uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews, and nieces are to be mentioned, as well as the corresponding relatives of the husband or wife.

601 In the Kinyaruanda language there is a word, basekuru, for the abstract concept "ancestor," but there is no word for the concept "father," and one must always say "my father," "your father," "his father." For "grandfather," too, there is no special designation; sekuru really means "his grandfather," and the concept "your grandfather" must be expressed by sokuru.

[217] In the following table we list the expressions for the closer relatives. (See following pages.)

Older close relatives are simply called uncle, data wachu. More distant relatives are referred to as mwene wachu.

The term wachu used so much in the table of relatives is really a possessive pronoun and means "our," just as wanyu means "your" and wabo, "their."

The stepfather is referred to simply as the husband of the mother or brother of the father. [218] The latter designation refers to the fact that a husband's brother falls heir to his widow.

It should be noted that in kinship terms the father's brothers and the mother's sister are treated as two parallel groups, the members of which can intermarry.

562 Position of Women. In Ruanda the woman is regarded, in
264 principle, as a lower creature, and married couples never eat together in public. In private, I have repeatedly observed that they usually do eat together.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so. Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running even into thousands; while a man who was considered only moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture lands two or three months at a time without returning home, sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Fermented beverages were popular in Ruanda. There were three varieties: those with a sorghum base, those with a banana base, and hydromel. As these drinks were made in each household, their alcoholic content varied greatly. According to the experts, however, their nutritive value was generally considerable. The Tutsi did not drink sorghum-beer (*amarwa*) which they thought was fit only for children and Hutu. It is not as strong as banana-beer (*urwagwa*) and hydromel (*ubuki*), which may contain 11.5° of alcohol.[33] Hydromel results from the fermentation of a must which is an aqueous solution of honey.

The Tutsi diet was based mainly on dairy products and was more liquid than solid. When still lying on his bed a Tutsi began his day with a pot of curdled milk (about 1½ pints). At noon, before his siesta, he again took about the same amount. Around six p.m. when talking with his friends and clients, he drank, and offered, hydromel or banana-beer. At about half past eight or nine p.m. everybody left his hut and he took his evening meal with his wife (or one of his wives), his young children of both sexes and his daughters even after puberty. A usual menu was sweet bananas (or beans) cooked in water, cut in small pieces which were eaten with hot salted butter, and some sort of 'bread' made with a sorghum flour paste and, of course, milk was drunk. On the rare occasions when they had meat it was boiled, cut in small pieces, and eaten with hot salted butter. After that, when the women had left, the evening was spent with friends and clients, in long, subtle, and witty conversations, while beer and hydromel were served again.

The Hutu ate more food, but it was less refined. They consumed much less milk and butter, if any. They took two main meals a day, one in the beginning of the afternoon and one in the evening. They made a kind of porridge with beans, peas, or maize. Sweet potatoes, regarded as too common to eat by the Tutsi, were consumed in large quantities by the Hutu. A present day evaluation is about seven pounds a day per adult. In the morning, while working in the fields, they ate one or two snacks made of the remains of the preceding evening meal. They drank mainly banana and sorghum beer.

The Twa apparently enjoyed eating much meat and drinking much beer when and where they could get it. Their diet was very

[33] Ministère des Colonies, 1941b, pp. 52 f.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

irregular, dependent on circumstances—a good hunt or a generous reward for dancing and singing.

The Tutsi had a strictly controlled attitude towards solid food. They behaved as if the need for nourishment was, if not shameful, at least beneath their dignity. The taking of a meal was something to be done privately. Friends were offered beer or milk, but they were not asked to share a whole meal. When travelling the Tutsi were not supposed to eat solid food and if the journey did not exceed two or even three days, they very often actually did not eat. It is said that a true Tutsi subsists only on milk and beer and some old men take pride in boasting of it. This attitude towards solid food might be explained as an attempt on the part of the conquering pastoralists to stress their independence of the foodstuffs produced by and characteristic of commoners and on a deeper level as an affirmation of what we might term a fundamental difference between themselves and Hutu. The Tutsi, according to their legends, came from another world. They were human beings like the Hutu, but not in quite the same way. This interpretation of the Tutsi attitude to food is supported by their emphasis on greediness in the Hutu character, and gluttony in the Twa. In most of the tales in which Hutu appeared, they were conspicuous by their overeating. For the Twa this feature was still more stressed. Another fact significant in this respect was the very strong prohibition on Hutu servants attending the meals of their Tutsi masters to reveal what they ate. This prohibition was magically sanctioned.

4. CLOTHING AND SHELTER

In the highlands, especially during the rainy season and at night, adequate covering against cold and damp is needed. Boys and girls, however, go completely naked as long as they are *abana* (children), that is up to the age of eight or nine for girls and ten or eleven for boys. As children usually do not go very far from the compounds, they may find some protection against cold either inside the hut or by picking up a skin or blanket. But the great number of diseases of the respiratory organs among children is a sign of their inadequate protection against bad weather.

The traditional Twa garment was a sheep skin. The Hutu wore bark-cloth as a sort of skirt from the waist down to the knees.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

It should also be pointed out that the supply of the staple foods was usually short at the end of the dry season and that starvation periods, in which many people died, were occurring several times in a life-time. For instance in a thirty-year period (1900–30) among the events used as references to assess the age of people, three famines are remembered: in 1908, 1918, and 1924.

The above considerations take into account only the total production of available food in the country. But it is obvious that in a society composed of several groups very unequal in power, access to food was not the same for everybody. It seems that we may safely infer that the normal diet of many Hutu was barely adequate to sustain people who had to spend a considerable amount of physical effort in agricultural tasks.

In the preparation of meals, two facts relevant to health should be mentioned. Firstly, the methods of cooking very often resulted in a diminution of the nutritive value of food. For instance, beans cooked in water lose from one-sixth to one-fifth of their carbohydrates.[27] Secondly, the standards of cleanliness in food preparation were very high among the Tutsi, though more for magical than for hygienic reasons. This applies particularly to milk. To avoid flies and dust, receptacles containing milk were always closed with basketwork conic covers adorned with elongated geometric patterns. It is believed that if milk comes into contact with anything impure, the cow would be harmed. The contaminating substances were not always connected with the Western idea of dirtiness. For instance water was considered dangerous to milk. Consequently the wooden vessels in which milk was kept were not washed out with water but with cows' urine.

The equatorial situation of Ruanda, combined with the rather cold climate due to its elevation, resulted in the spreading of diseases characteristic of tropical as well as of temperate regions. Yaws, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, recurring fevers, and a large variety of intestinal diseases are quite common in Ruanda today.[28] They are not new diseases resulting from new conditions introduced by the European occupation, such as malaria, which was unknown in Ruanda except in the narrow strip adjacent to the Ruzizi River until roads were built permitting a very rapid transportation of people, or some venereal diseases which spread

[27] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 49-51.
[28] Cf. Lestrade, 1935; Vincent, 1953, pp. 16-18.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

rivalry among a man's plural wives and among sisters-in-law constitutes a serious domestic problem. Moreover, there are persistent rumours which have never been effectively squelched that the late queen-mother arranged for the death of her son, the former *mwami*, for political reasons. Maternal tenderness and friendship cannot stand up against the pressures of economic and political self-interest. Moreover, instability is a result, probably an inevitable one, of the very wide powers of superiors over their inferiors.

Ubukuru, superiority or seniority, is everywhere of the same pattern—in the relationship between the *mwami* and his subjects, between parents and children, between Tutsi and Hutu, between husband and wife. The superior is active, the inferior passive. The superior commands, the other obeys. Out of respect, the inferior waits while the superior drinks first, eats first, walks ahead of him. If there are burdens to carry, it is the inferior who carries them—the Hutu for his Tutsi master, the wife for her husband, the children for their mother. A powerful taboo forbids a Hutu to look on while a prince or a Tutsi eats or drinks. There is no comparable taboo in domestic life, but the husband usually eats alone, or he may invite his wife to join him. Children, always inferiors, always eat afterwards and apart.

The concept of *ubukuru* as chronological seniority is relevant to changes in social role according to age. The changes of social status for women, from child and adolescent to wife and mother, then to mother-in-law and grandmother, constitute a progression towards independence, power and the other attributes of superiority. For men, there is a progression of approximately the same kind. The boy during childhood and adolescence is of no importance; at marriage, a man is superior to his wife and children, but he remains subordinated to the authority of his father and the lineage chief; if he is clever and wealthy enough to pay for the beer for the ceremony, he will be initiated when he is about forty-five years old, as an *umushingantahe*, a mature man qualified to serve as a judge and councillor. In his old age, when he has become feeble, a man is obliged to retire from active participation in important matters. The principle of increase of power with age is valid throughout the life-span for women. Nevertheless, superiority is not determined by chronological age but by social role.

To ask for a gift, say the Rundi, is to honour; to give a gift is to like. It is the superior who gives, the inferior who asks. In order to receive, it is necessary to obey, but everything depends on the will and the affection of the superior. He will give if he wants to; if not

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42
Hutu

Ethel M. Albert

562 **Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.**
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must
[251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food
[574] in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the
517] planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for
[264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her
[313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw
415] water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her
482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard
[356] and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that
[252] night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava, or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house.
[606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than
[574] cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to
564 clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the
593 season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will